

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-06

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 SP-02 HA-02 NSC-05 INR-05  
CIAE-00 PM-03 DODE-00 L-01 NSAE-00 EUR-08 ARA-10  
EB-04 OMB-01 TRSE-00 H-01 /063 W  
-----011754 301118Z /15

R 300824Z MAY 78

FM AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4704

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 KUALA LUMPUR 4863

LIMDIS

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: SREF, SHUM, PINS, MY

SUBJECT: MALAYSIAN HOME MINISTER'S VIEWS ON SECURITY, HUMAN  
RIGHTS AND REFUGEES

REF: A) KUALA LUMPUR 4395, B) KUALA LUMPUR 4392, C) STATE  
125638

1. SUMMARY: DURING A MAY 29 CALL PRIOR TO RETURNING  
TO WASHINGTON FOR CONSULTATIONS, AMBASSADOR SOUGHT  
HOME MINISTER TAN SRI GHAZALI SHAFIE'S VIEWS ON BOTH  
INTERNAL AND REGIONAL SECURITY. SUBJECTS OF REFUGEES  
AND HUMAN RIGHTS ALSO WERE DISCUSSED, AS WERE OTHER  
TOPICS BEING REPORTED SEPTELS. GHAZALI STRESSED  
THAT GOM SEES PROBLEM OF COMBATTING COMMUNIST THREAT  
TO BE AN ENDURING ONE, NOTED THAT THE ASEAN GOVERN-  
MENTS ARE IDEOLOGICALLY OPPOSED TO COMMUNISM, AND  
WARNED THAT THE COMMUNISTS WOULD EXPLOIT ANY SIGNS OF  
AMBIVALENCE BY THESE REGIMES. IN THIS CONTEXT HE  
WAS ADAMANT IN DEFENDING THE GOVERNMENT'S RIGHT TO  
DETAIN WITHOUT TRIAL UNDER THE INTERNAL SECURITY  
ACT (ISA) NOT ONLY THOSE INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED IN  
COMMUNIST TERRORIST ACTIVITIES BUT ANYONE ASSOCIATING  
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WITH COMMUNISM WHICH AS A DOCTRINE IS CONSIDERED  
ANATHEMA BY THE GOM AND CONSEQUENTLY HAS BEEN  
OUTLAWED. GHAZALI ALSO QUESTIONED THE EFFICACY  
OF GOM PROVIDING US WITH INFORMATION ON CIRCUM-  
STANCES OF ARREST AND CONDITIONS OF SEVERAL  
INDIVIDUALS CURRENTLY DETAINED UNDER THE ISA  
ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE INFORMATION SO PROVIDED

WOULD BE CONSIDERED BY INQUIRERS TO BE BIASED. FINALLY, ON REFUGEES, THE GOM MINISTER WHILE EXPRESSING CONCERN WITH THE CONTINUING OUTFLOW OF INDOCHINESE REFUGEES TO MALAYSIA'S SHORES DID NOT INDICATE OVER-RIDING ALARM WITH THE SITUATION. INTERESTINGLY, HE PERCEIVES THIS AS A PROBLEM OF FORCED EVICTION OF CHINESE, WHO HE CLAIMED NOW PREDOMINATE AMONG THE REFUGEES. WHILE REFERRING TO US AND MALAYSIAN RESETTLEMENT ROLES, GHAZALI SUGGESTED EFFORTS BE MADE TO PERSUADE LATIN AMERICAN NATIONS TO ACCEPT A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF THESE REFUGEES. END SUMMARY.

2. SECURITY. IN RAISING THE SUBJECT OF SECURITY, THE AMBASSADOR RECALLED GHAZALI'S REMARK TO CODEL WOLFF LAST JANUARY TO THE EFFECT THAT BY MARCH GOM SUCSESSES AGAINST THE COMMUNIST UNDERGROUND WOULD PERMIT SECURITY FORCES TO FOCUS ON THE TASK OF ROOTING ARMED COMMUNIST ELEMENTS OUT OF THEIR JUNGLE HIDEOUTS. GHAZALI REPLIED THAT ALTHOUGH IT WAS DIFFICULT TO FOLLOW A TIGHT TIMETABLE, THE PICTURE CONTINUED TO IMPROVE, PARTICULARLY IN THE AREA OF JOINT SECURITY COOPERATION WITH THE THAIS. THIS IS A WAR OF INTELLIGENCE, INTELLIGENCE BREEDS SUCCESS, AND SUCCESS BRINGS MORE INTELLIGENCE, HE OPINED. A PARTICULAR CONFIDENTIAL

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PROBLEM HAS BEEN TO PERSUADE THE THAIS TO IMPLEMENT THEIR IDEAS; FOR EXAMPLE, FOR LONGER TERM FUNDING OF SECURITY MATTERS RATHER THAN THE CUSTOMARY SHORT-TERM, AD HOC APPROACH TO DEFENSE EXPENDITURES (HE CITED INSTANCES WHERE MALAYSIAN TROOPS HAD SHARED RATIONS WITH THAI COLLEAGUES WHEN THE THAI RATION ALLOWANCES HAD EXPIRED IN MID-OPERATION). GHAZALI ADDED THAT THE PROBLEM OF MANAGEMENT, OF APPLYING THEORY TO PRACTICE, EXTENDED TO THE MALAYSIAN SIDE AS WELL. IN THIS REGARD HE CITED THE CASE, UNTIL RECENTLY, OF THE STATE OF PAHANG WHERE GOM SECURITY COUNTERMEASURES WERE INEFFECTIVE, IN CONTRAST TO THE STATE OF PERAK WHERE THE GOVERNMENT SIDE HAS BEEN MUCH MORE SUCCESSFUL, THUS NECESSITATING A SHAKEUP OF THE GOM "MANAGERS" IN PAHANG.

3. IN RESPONSE TO THE AMBASSADOR'S QUERY ON HIS ASSESSMENT OF REGIONAL SECURITY, PARTICULARLY THE SRV-CAMBODIA PROBLEM, GHAZALI REMARKED THAT HE SEES GROUNDS FOR OPTIMISM. ALTHOUGH THE LIKLIHOOD OF PERIODIC "FLAREUPS" EXISTS, HE DOES

NOT FORESEE ANY OF THE ASEAN COUNTRIES FACING  
IMMINENT THREATS OF COMMUNIST TAKEOVER. HE  
SAID THAT FROM HIS PERSONAL TIES WITH LEADERS OF  
INDONESIA, THAILAND AND SINGAPORE--HE NOTED THAT  
HE DID NOT KNOW THE FILIPINO LEADERSHIP THAT  
WELL--HE WAS CONFIDENT THAT THESE COUNTRIES WOULD  
REMAIN VIGILANT IN OPPOSING THE THREAT OF  
COMMUNISM, TO WHICH AS AN IDEOLOGY THEY ARE ALL  
OPPOSED AND CONSIDER ANATHEMA. HE WARNED  
THAT "THE MOMENT WE (THE ASEAN NATIONS) ARE  
AMBIVALENT, THEY (THE COMMUNISTS) WILL COME IN".  
AS FOR THE SRV-CAMBODIA TERRITORIAL DISPUTE  
PROVIDING POSSIBLE CLUES OF VIETNAMESE INTENTIONS,  
GHAZALI RETORTED THAT THE LONG-TERM INTENTIONS OF  
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THE COMMUNIST REGIMES ARE UNDENIABLE AND ARE SET  
FORTH IN THE TEXTS OF MARX AND ENGELS; ANYONE WHO  
THINKS OTHERWISE IS NAIVE. HE STATED THAT THE

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ACTION EA-06

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 SP-02 HA-02 NSC-05 INR-05  
CIAE-00 PM-03 DODE-00 L-01 NSAE-00 EUR-08 ARA-10  
EB-04 OMB-01 TRSE-00 H-01 /063 W  
-----011650 301118Z /15

R 300824Z MAY 78

FM AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4705

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 KUALA LUMPUR 4863

LIMDIS

OVERRIDING PROBLEM IS THAT COMMUNISM, A FAILED  
DOCTRINE, HAS GAINED THE BANNER OF RESPECTABILITY  
THROUGH ITS IDENTIFICATION WITH THE SOVIER UNION AND THE PRC.

4. IN MALAYSIA, GHAZALI CONTINUED, THE GOM IS

QUITE AWARE THAT THE DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN THE COMMUNIST PARTY APPARATUS AND THE GOVERNMENT MACHINERY ARE FALSE ONES, AND THUS CONSIDERS THE SOVIET AND CHINESE EMBASSIES HERE TO BE AGENTS OF THEIR COMMUNIST PARTIES. "WE ONLY LET THE CHINESE OPEN AN EMBASSY BECAUSE WE WERE PREPARED TO DEAL WITH THEM ON THAT BASIS, AND LET THE FOREIGN MINISTRY PLAY THE NECESSARY "GAMES" THIS INVOLVES," HE DECLARED. HE ADDED THAT THE INDONESIANS FOR SIMILAR REASONS ARE "NOT YET READY TO FACT THE SITUATION" AND CLAIMED THAT FOLLOWING HIS OWN "FOUR EYES" SESSION WITH PRESIDENT SUHARTO IN LABUAN SEVERAL DAYS AGO THE INDONESIANS HAVE EVEN BACKED AWAY FROM THE NOTION OF DIRECT TRADE RELATIONS.

5. IN RESPONSE TO THE AMBASSADOR'S REMARK THAT MEASURES TO IMPROVE THE ECONOMIC WELFARE OF THE  
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PEOPLE THROUGH MECHANISMS SUCH AS MALAYSIA'S "NEW ECONOMIC POLICY (NEP) ALSO SEEM INTENDED TO OFFSET THE APPEAL OF COMMUNISM, GHAZALI CONCURRED. HE SAID THAT ECONOMIC IMBALANCES ARE SUBJECT TO EXPLOITATION BY NOT ONLY COMMUNISTS BUT BY OTHER (UNNAMED) ELEMENTS. THE OBJECTIVE, HE EMPHASIZED, IS TO ACHIEVE "RESILIENCE," TO BE "ENDURING AND ENDURABLE" IN THE FACE OF THE UNENDING COMMUNIST THREAT. AND, HE ADDED, TO DO THIS WE MUST REALIZE THAT IN DEALING WITH COMMUNISM, WHICH THREATENS OUR BASIC FREEDOMS, WE MUST BE PREPARED TO TOLERATE SOME RESTRAINTS ON OUR FREEDOMS; TO DO OTHERWISE CONCEDES AN UNDUE ADVANTAGE TO THE OTHER SIDE. IN THIS CONTEXT, IT IS UNFAIR FOR OURSIDERS TO JUDGE US BY A DIFFERENT YARDSTICK THAT DOES NOT RECOGNIZE THE DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES WE FACE, HE DECLARED.

6. HUMAN RIGHTS. ALONG THE LINES OF HIS PREVIOUS CONVERSATIONS WITH THE PRIME MINISTER AND FOREIGN MINISTER (RETELS A AND B RESPECTIVELY), THE AMBASSADOR RAISED THE SUBJECT OF OUR CONTINUING HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS AND IN PARTICULAR SEVERAL INQUIRIES WE HAVE RECEIVED ON THREE SPECIFIC CASES OF PERSONS DETAINED WITHOUT TRIAL UNDER MALAYSIA'S INTERNAL SECURITY ACT (ISA). THE AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL FOR US TO RECEIVE INFORMATION FROM AN AUTHORITATIVE GOVERNMENT SOURCE TO BE USED AS A FACTUAL BASIS FOR THESE INQUIRIES, SOME OF WHICH REFLECTED CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST.

7. THE HOME MINISTER MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE DID  
NOT BELIEVE SUCH INFORMATION SUPPLIED BY THE GOM  
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WOULD BE CONSIDERED ADEQUATE, SINCE THE INQUIRIES  
WOULD CONSIDER IT BIASED. HE REFERRED BACK TO  
POINTS HE HAD MADE IN DISCUSSING SECURITY, AND  
THE UNFAIRNESS AS HE SAW IT OF BEING SUBJECTED  
TO DIFFERING YARDSTICKS THAT DID NOT  
ACCURATELY REFLECT LOCAL CIRCUMSTANCES. GHAZALI  
CITED THE FACT THAT DETAINEES HAVE ACCESS TO  
LAWYERS AND PERIODIC REVIEW BY A SPECIAL PANEL  
AN INDICATIVE OF THE EXISTENCE OF LEGAL COUNSEL  
AND A FORM OF JUDICIAL REVIEW. HE ALSO NOTED THAT  
HE AS HOME MINISTER DID NOT RPT NOT HAVE THE POWER  
TO OVERRULE A PANEL'S FINDINGS, AND THAT SUCH A  
DISAGREEMENT WOULD HAVE TO GO TO THE KING FOR  
RESOLUTION. HE EMPHASIZED THAT ALL THOSE INDIVIDUALS  
DETAINED UNDER THE ISA WERE CHARGED WITH POSING  
THREATS TO NATIONAL SECURITY, ALTHOUGH THE EXACT  
CIRCUMSTANCES MIGHT VARY SOMEWHAT FROM CASE TO  
CASE. IN THIS REGARD HE POINTED OUT THAT NOT  
ONLY ARE COMMUNIST TERRORISTS HELD, BUT ALSO  
OTHERS INVOLVED IN COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES, CITING  
AS EXAMPLES THE CASES OF TWO FORMER DEPUTY  
MINISTERS DETAINED IN NOVEMBER 1976.

8. THE AMBASSADOR STRESSED THAT THE USG HELD  
MALAYSIA'S HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD IN HIGH REGARD (AS  
INDICATED DURING PRIME MINISTER HUSSEIN'S VISIT  
TO WASHINGTON LAST FALL), THAT WE WERE FULLY  
AWARE THAT THE DETENTIONS IN QUESTION WERE IN  
ACCORD WITH DULY ENACTED LEGISLATION (THE ISA),  
AND THAT WHAT WE WERE SEEKING WAS FACTUAL AND  
AUTHORITATIVE INFORMATION FROM THE GOM ON SPECIFIC  
CASES WITH WHICH TO ANSWER CONGRESSIONAL AND  
OTHER QUERIES.

9. REFUGEES. THE SUBJECT OF REFUGEES AROSE IN  
DISCUSSION OF VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE'S RECENT  
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VISIT TO THE REGION AND HIS MAY 10 EAST WEST CENTER  
ADDRESS. IN RESPONSE TO GHAZALI'S COMMENT  
THAT THE US MUST DEMONSTRATE EVEN MORE TANGIBLY

US CONCERN AND INVOLVEMENT IN THE AREA. THE  
AMBASSADOR CITED INTER ALIA THE VICE PRESIDENT'S  
FOCUS ON CONTINUED SUBSTANTIAL US INVOLVEMENT

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ACTION EA-06

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 SP-02 HA-02 NSC-05 INR-05  
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R 300824Z MAY 78  
FM AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4706

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 KUALA LUMPUR 4863

LIMDIS

IN REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT EFFORTS. TO THIS,  
GHAZALI RESPONDED THAT THE REFUGEE FLOW POSED A  
CONTINUING PROBLEM, NOTING THAT OVER 7000  
REFUGEES ARE NOW IN CAMPS ON MALAYSIA'S EAST  
COAST. MOREOVER, THE PROBLEM FOR MALAYSIA IS  
EXACERBATED BY THE FACT (HE CLAIMED) THAT ETHNIC  
CHINESE NOW PREDOMINATE AMONG THE REFUGEES. THIS  
SEEMS TO BE A PROBLEM OF THE SRV FORCIBLY EVICTING  
ITS CHINESE, RATHER THAN OF POLITICAL REFUGEES  
PER SE. WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING AUSTRALIAN AND US  
ROLES IN RESETTLEMENT, GHAZALI MADE A STRONG  
PITCH FOR EFFORTS TO PERSUADE LATIN AMERICAN  
NATIONS TO ACCEPT SOME OF THESE REFUGEES ON THE  
GROUNDS THAT "THEY HAVE A LOT OF OPEN SPACES."  
ALTHOUGH HE INDICATED THAT THE GOM CONSIDERED THE  
INDOCHINESE REFUGEES TO BE A SERIOUS MATTER  
WARRANTING SPECIAL ATTENTION, HE EMPHASIZED THAT  
OVERLOOKED IN THE EQUATION IS THE FACT THAT  
MALAYSIA IS CURRENTLY PROVIDING REFUGE TO OVER  
90,000 FILIPINO REFUGEES, AND THIS IN ITS OWN  
RESPECT IS A CAUSE FOR ALARM (SEE SEPTTEL ON THIS  
SUBJECT). THE AMBASSADOR RECALLED THAT LATIN  
AMERICAN COUNTRIES HAD TAKEN SOME INDOCHINESE  
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REFUGEES IN 1975 AND 1976, AND HE AGREED TO  
REPORT GHAZALI'S SUGGESTION.

10. NARCOTICS. SEE SEPTTEL FOR DISCUSSION OF  
US-MALAYSIAN COOPERATION IN THE NARCOTICS FIELD.

11. COMMENT: THIS WAS VINTAGE GHAZALI SHAFIE;  
ARTICULATE, WIDE-RANGING AND INTELLECTUALLY  
AGGRESSIVE. AFTER THE MEETING THE AMBASSADOR  
SPOKE WITH MFA UNDERSECRETARY RAZALI ISMAIL,  
WHO WAS ALSO PRESENT, ABOUT FOLLOWING UP ON THE  
THREE SPECIFIC DETAINEE CASES ABOUT WHICH WE HAVE  
REQUESTED INFORMATION. RAZALI PROMISED TO DISCUSS  
THIS FURTHER WITH THE EMBASSY, AND WE AGREED TO KEEP  
IN TOUCH ON THIS.

12. DEPARTMENT REPEAT AS DESIRED.  
ROSENTHAL

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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** SREF, SHUM, PINS, MY, (GHAZALI BIN SHAFIE, MUHAMMAD)  
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